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In Guarani tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/

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Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Nandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

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The original maize of the Guarani is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto.

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Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guarani are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupi, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guarani tribe or from the civilized world. The Guarani are fully aware of the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in-

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heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avati-mongarai is held.

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The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

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243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú handé avatí
796 mberire); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 handé avatí kahangá); after the first food is prepared with green
maize (djahá hovasa handé avatí djyngé); and, finally, when
the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djarú kávira angá
or djahá djasporahéi kávira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of
corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants --
mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita
pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the
"baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first
basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynahú, be-
fore the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in
order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomach-
aches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among
which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a
genuine religio-economic calendar, to the extent that, as we
have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is
considered indispensable, especially in the months in which
maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and
constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this
reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the
caçaras /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the
geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
[171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-
Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to
what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

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For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or atapim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Itanani) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primitive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guarani there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caçaras in recent times.

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Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kñĩĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guarani. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kñĩĩ is added mandiô py, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipitĩ for one night, so that the mandiôkũera drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

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4. /From p. 64 of the original source./
It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

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But the white flour, parí vevé, or, as some say, mandiô-kñĩĩ morõĩĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caçaras.

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To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use of the grater.

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174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
 167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
 721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
 619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guaraní
 tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical
 America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their
 unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea
 never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture
 might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more
 reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to
 manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging
 expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guaraní warriors who penetrated into
 721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
 167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
 22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
 262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
 411 the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
 482 were following its course. When game or fish were lacking,
 they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and
 chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet,
 but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
 825 ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees
 167 in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
 721 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
 174 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
 271 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
 824 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at

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1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?).
 This plant has the appearance of a liana whose
 bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario
Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano,
 p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

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those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ... " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matakó /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guaraní, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

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None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guaraní and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guaraní before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala.

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/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor

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Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guaraní Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

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● [262] Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild
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[271] thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

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[721] "Aracare ... ordered them (the Guaraní who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guaraní from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 350.)

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167 Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guaraní, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

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It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Nandéva of the coast that we find one of the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114]

5. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

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/52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guarani, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

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"Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupi tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./
See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pētŷ gūf (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pētŷ ñamōi (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.

[§24] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast the fish on the spot (mokfi é), where it is consumed. When nearby, they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbliá of Xapécó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbliá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one matching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbliá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

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476 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the
491 maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of
177 collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige,
he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there
is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his
lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking,
this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institu-
tion inherent in the traditional culture.

476 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the
177 contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new
463 forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbã
439 of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and
visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself
up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or
inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days
in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other
things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente,
or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the
form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 In the Mbã puxirões to which reference was made in the
574 last passage above there is also common cooking, each con-
tributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman
from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The
women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the
joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of
476 drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow,"
574 at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and
273 at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the
drink they make a "society"; anyone who has money gives.

476 All this is in the puxirões of collective interest. For those
574 that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner
• [262] provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and
drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who
only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the
Mbã), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does
not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

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[237] In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Nandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night: it fell to the brother to take care of it.

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184 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have her head and body wrapped in a cloth: she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Nandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mblá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

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[263] The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish herself only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidju) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

[181] It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Nandéva and prohibited among the Mblá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mblá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Nandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mblá say that the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Nandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ê-ô-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poydjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Nandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Nandéva say,

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881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Nandéva
 • 262 woman of Baanal told me that she owed the possession of still
 753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
 [263] At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
 avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbũá believe
 that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Nandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
 82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
 one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
 Araribá told me, is the harugá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
 which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
 senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
 informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
 boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
 countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
 become stirred up because of her. Among the Nandéva of Pôrto
 Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
 order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
 ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[176] The Mbũá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
 order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
 trees), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
 the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
 [184] the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
 animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbũá,
 for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
 [171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
 the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source. /
 Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
 882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
 178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
 crisis. The Nandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
 kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstua-
 tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

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881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do
not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying
the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community
in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not
[829] only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Never-
theless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration
(called there kunumf-pepý, or kunumf-piéta, hybrid form) is
doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were
obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the fanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period,
the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between
8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring vil-
lages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumf-pepý coincides in the respective year
with the maize celebration, avaf-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting
of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to
be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than
twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there
are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[762] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially
certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May,

[782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be-
[829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the fanderú chooses and teaches the huitzá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris/, who subsequently

[792] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumi porahêi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjêhóakû) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the fanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the fanderú lets them go, it is the fanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resgarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses."

• [762] The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy
[752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./

As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A
[834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman,
[362] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.
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or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the fleé or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./

"On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú,

"I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguaniva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyigua of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

- [262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

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Not only the fleé or ayvú, which is given by Nanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the Nanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as gum (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./
Poydjú, although he supports the theory of the

/124 cont./

782 The fanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).

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14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guarani fanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Xizi of Bananal --, the fanderú should nourish himself exclusively with "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

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78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by fanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbã in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbã dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Nanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

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- 133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.²⁰ It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

- 137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,²¹ *mate* trees, which the Cayuá also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with strong, fibrous cortices for tying, especially used in building houses and fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarúria*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindo* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

- 136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caietá* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadillos, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguaré*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroquets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tuká*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *araponga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mate*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

²⁰ The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[103] ²¹ One of these canes, the *taquapt* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

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consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.⁴¹ Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*savakwé*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *cailetu* (sometimes *lailetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadillos. The *paca* is a rodent, the *cailetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *laté* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

⁴¹ This process is today known in Brazil as *coqueira*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

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enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrzhoffer.⁴² The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,⁴³ and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parakeets served both for food and feathers. Parakeets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavido-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.⁴⁴

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Caingua are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."⁴⁵ While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

⁴² Dobrzhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.

⁴³ Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.

⁴⁴ Rengger, 1835, pp. 125-126.

⁴⁵ Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

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system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá⁴⁴ and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.⁴⁵

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguaid* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pig-skin,⁴⁶ and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

⁴⁴ Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

⁴⁵ Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

⁴⁶ Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

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*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
 439 through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
 648 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
 • [262] danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
 [291] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are
 principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other-
 wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of
 trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the
 present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the
 whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
 648 region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter
 small amounts of their *kokué* production every year. Corn, principally the kind
 known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatt tups*), is
 the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking,
 and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into
 Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually
 on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are
 not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small
 amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the
 traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be
 temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own
roças. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
 from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
 Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume
 + [243] much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection
 [177] with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half
 the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a
 storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large
 in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
 439 Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
 352 mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
 415 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
 262 by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a
patrão or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered
 to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by
 Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are
 standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered es-
 sential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for
 resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.¹²⁸ Hammocks are

¹²⁸ Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."¹⁷ Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brasilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

¹⁷ Gras, 1930.

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000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

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On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

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The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in general terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.

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/38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha, which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small

881 /38 cont./

562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
 (352) it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
 (784) born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
 (843) striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
 (824) ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
 son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
 has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
 maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
 maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
 him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

(178) Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
 (184) number of Cayuá aldeas, it continues to have great importance
 (304) in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
 (753) lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
 (262) biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
 (753) fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
 pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
 appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
 ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
 beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
 be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
 of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
 (824) it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
 however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
 eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
 bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
 (594) social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
 place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
 viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
 the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
 tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
 584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
 178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
 kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
 man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
 648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
 197 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816-18. The *Guarani* who
 were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient
 missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez,
 suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guarani* who still
 occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the
 Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared
 after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable
 controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guarani* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
 178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingú*, who are said to be
 433 unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
 262 *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
 71 fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern
 [82] *Guarani*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method
 [412] in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and
 sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul-
 tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation
 fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised
 by the *Guarani* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingú* and
 the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize
 are the staples. The *Caingú* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), sev-
 eral varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber
 called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts,
 pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb
 [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium*
 [824] sp., and *Coix lacryna-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'*
 [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for
 [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingú* are very fond of sugarcane, which is
 for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guarani* of the southern Brazilian plateau
 consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which
 are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingú* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild
 plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not
 only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich
 terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yalay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucuyá (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingú* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocua* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (*Phalaenidae* and *Morphidae*) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum**) is part of *Caingú* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] 262]o [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Caingú* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingú* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumá fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a *Sapindaceae* (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 [178] [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingú* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingú* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingú* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingú* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. [178]

* *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strehlke.